

not smote their passion. That is the essence of the "Power of the Powerless," according to Vaclav Havel, dissident, writer, and political prisoner who is now President of the Czech Republic.

The ideas contained in the "Power of the Powerless" is what I would like to convey to you on this occasion, because of its lesson in today's world where Captive Nations are few and the powerless seized the power, because it belonged to them all along.

In 1978, Havel wrote:

A specter is haunting Eastern Europe: the specter of what in the West is called "dissent." This specter has not appeared out of thin air. It is the natural and inevitable consequence of the present historical phase of the system it is haunting. It was born at a time when the system, for a thousand reasons, can no longer base itself on the unadulterated, brutal, and arbitrary application of power, eliminating all expressions of nonconformity. What is more, the system has become so ossified politically that there is practically no way for such nonconformity to be implemented within its official structures.

The system was exemplified by the greengrocer whose store displays the slogan: "Workers of the world, unite!"

Due to semantics, the greengrocer is indifferent to the slogan.

His obedience is verbalized in a manner that does not degrade his humanity so much as the truth. "I am afraid and therefore unquestioningly obedient."

Ten years later, the system collapsed in the wake of dissent. The Berlin Wall fell in response to the pressure of East Germans voting with their feet, and within a year a microcosm of the former World Order vanished. Glasnost and Perestroika shook the ossified foundation of the Party and its dogma to its core, and the Soviet Union collapsed, allowing for self-determination and the birth of democracy in many formerly Captive Nations.

It was the Power of the Powerless, the greengrocer's humanity, that eventually brought the system to its knees. Any political system is comprised of the individuals within it, and these individuals, victims or conformists, possess the power of conferring legitimacy to the system.

In the former Captive Nations legitimacy waned when the victims refused to perpetuate the lie.

When the gap between ideology and daily reality could no longer be bridged by pat slogans and prescribed ritual, the system's foundation crumbled.

By accepting the rules of the game, individuals became players. But their refusal to abide by the rules frayed the tightly woven fabric of falsity upon which the system was based.

Rejection of the system is encapsulated in the following description:

One day something in the greengrocer snaps and he stops putting up the slogans merely to ingratiate himself. He stops voting in elections he knows are a farce. He begins to say what he really thinks at political meetings. And he even finds the strength in himself to express solidarity with those whom his conscience commands him to support. In this revolt the greengrocer steps out

of living within the lie. He rejects the ritual and breaks the rules of the game. He discovers once more his suppressed identity and dignity. He gives his freedom a concrete significance. His revolt is an attempt to live within the truth.

In his expression of his identity and human dignity, the greengrocer becomes the victim.

He is purged from the system and punished. His actions are a reminder that an alternate truth exists, thus, he is a threat.

He has done more than express his dissent, he has illuminated the lie that comprise his surroundings.

His power is augmented in its juxtaposition to the facade.

It was the many who expressed their identity in those Captive Nations who tarnished the ideological veneer that was to bridge the gap between truth and falsity. They were victimized, often murdered, for their unwillingness or incapacity to abide by the rules and forfeit their dignity.

Legitimacy is the glue that holds the system together. Legitimacy must be conferred by the individuals in the system. Without the power of individuals the system must utilize force, coercion and fear to maintain control. The days of an authoritarian state are always numbered, and democracy is the only legitimate social order. It is for this reason, I believe, that in time the remaining Captive Nations—Cuba, China, North Korea—also will join the community of democratic states. The ideological battle is over, and the system with the only solid basis for its legitimacy—its citizens—won.

In memory of the millions who perished under authoritarian regimes, it is only right for us to recognize their sacrifice. They rejected the facade and refused to perpetuate or propagate the lie. Their sacrifice is also a sobering reminder of our privilege.

It is also appropriate and important to recognize the victims who survived and are witness to the crimes of history. In commemoration of those who perished, it is all the more potent to recognize those who were victims and survived. Today we can applaud those who would not be victimized, the individuals who refused to be swayed by untruths and promises of power. They are the ones that I would like to remember today. The ones who fought tyranny and prevailed have offered the greatest gift to those who tried and failed. They serve as a reminder to those around them that living a lie is worse than living in fear. And in the Captive Nations they were many in 1989 and thereafter.●

CLIFFORD J. GROH

● Mr. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, a good friend of the State of Alaska passed away on Sunday evening, Clifford Groh. He was a well-respected member of the Anchorage community and a leader in the Republican Party. He was educated in New York and New

Mexico before settling in Alaska. He served his country in the Navy and plied his trade as a lawyer. Cliff served our state as a member of the Alaska Constitutional Research Committee, Chairman of the Anchorage Charter Commission, the Anchorage City Council, the Borough Assembly, and also as a State Senator. In 1967 he was appointed Honorary Chief by the Alaska Federation of Natives and in 1972, he was voted Outstanding Legislator of the Year by the Eagleton Institute of Politics at Rutgers University. Cliff served as our State Party National Committeeman from 1976-78 and General Counsel from 1978 to 1990. President Bush appointed Cliff to the Arctic Reserach Commission. In 1977, I had the pleasure of presenting him with the Republican Party of Alaska's Life Service Award. He is survived by his wife, Lucy and their three children.

Mr. President, we share the family's grief at their great loss and take solace in the fact that this talented, highly respected man will live on in the memory of all who had the pleasure to know him.●

TRIBUTE TO THE DEVONSHIRE MEMORIAL CHURCH OF HARRISBURG

● Mr. SANTORUM. Mr. President, I rise today to pay tribute to the youth group from Devonshire Memorial Church in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. On Sunday, July 26 ten students from the church will travel to Manning, South Carolina to assist in the rebuilding of the Macedonian Baptist Church which the Ku Klux Klan destroyed by fire in 1996. The young people will also be working to renovate homes of church members that suffered damage due to the fire.

The teenagers, who raised their own support for the trip through things such as church-wide dinners and fundraising letters, will join approximately 250 other young people from across the nation to work on painting, hanging drywall, repairing roofs and caulking windows.

Church burnings are a violent act of hatred against the free exercise of religious faith. Arson, which has destroyed many southern African American churches, has also destroyed our dignity and our humanity. By dedicating their time and effort to rebuilding the walls of a church burned by hatred and bigotry, these young men and women are tearing down the walls of violence and racism and restoring faith to the Christian community.

Mr. President, I ask my colleagues to join me in commending the young men and women of Devonshire Memorial Church for their dedication to restoring a church and a community, as well as the ideals of freedom in this country.●